

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 197411
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:RLBARRY:MR

APPROVED BY P:PCHABIB

S/P:PKREISBERG

EUR:GVEST

AF:WEDMONDSON

S/AS:PFARLEY

IO:CWMAYNES

S/S-O:SGOLDSMITH

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 197411

NODIS

LONDON ALSO FOR MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OCXN, MNUC, NI, SF, GW, FR, IS

SUBJECT:SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM

1. IF SAG RESPONSES TO US AND FRENCH DEMARCHES ARE
UNSATISFACTORY, WE THINK IT IS IMPORTANT TO DISCUSS
CONTINGENCY THAT PRESSURE FOR SECURITY COUNCIL
ACTION WILL MOUNT RAPIDLY. FRANCE IS PRESIDENT OF
THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN AUGUST AND FRG WILL PRESIDE
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PAGE 02 STATE 197411

IN SEPTEMBER. COUNCIL PRESIDENT HAS SOME ABILITY
TO CONTROL HOW ISSUE WOULD BE HANDLED IN THE COUNCIL.
IN RAISING POSSIBILITY OF A CALL FOR SECURITY
COUNCIL ACTION WITH HOST GOVERNMENT, YOU SHOULD
MAKE IT CLEAR THAT US IS NOT PROPOSING THAT THIS IS
THE FORUM WE BELIEVE IS BEST SUITED FOR DISCUSSION
OF THIS INFLAMMATORY ISSUE. RATHER, WE CONSIDER

IT PRUDENT TO DISCUSS CONTINGENCY THAT PRESSURES FOR COUNCIL ACTION WILL BUILD RAPIDLY AT LAGOS ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE (AUGUST 22-26). WE CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL TO AVOID TO THE DEGREE POSSIBLE BEING PLACED IN A DEFENSIVE ROLE SHOULD THIS COME TO PASS.

2. AT PRESENT, WE HAVE NO INDICATION THAT SOVIETS OR OTHERS PLAN TO CALL FOR COUNCIL ACTION AT LAGOS. (WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT AMBASSADOR HARRIMAN OF NIGERIA HAS SAID THAT THE NUCLEAR QUESTION WILL BE A KEY ISSUE AT THE LAGOS APARTHEID CONFERENCE.) IT IS POSSIBLE THAT ASSURANCES FROM SOUTH AFRICA COUPLED WITH SAG'S AGREEMENT TO INSPECTIONS OF KALAHARI SITE COULD DEFUSE THE ISSUE SO THAT DEMANDS FOR ACTION COULD BE DEFERRED. ON THE OTHER HAND, SHOULD THE AFRICANS DEMAND A COUNCIL MEETING WE RECOGNIZE THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO PREVENT. DEPENDING ON HOW DEMAND IS COUCHED, IT MAY NOT BE WISE TO TRY.

3. IN THE EVENT OF AN SC MEETING, WE BELIEVE OUR GOAL SHOULD BE TO AVOID A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR RADICAL ACTION UNDER CHAPTER VII WHICH COULD TRIGGER A VETO, BUT LEAVING OPEN THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A SIMPLE CHAPTER VII FINDING WOULD BE JUSTIFIED. A VETO WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF UNDERCUTTING
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PAGE 03 STATE 197411

OUR CREDIBILITY WITH KEY AFRICAN STATES AND RUN THE DANGER OF DERAILING INITIATIVES WE HAVE IN TRAIN ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. SUCH AN OUTCOME MIGHT BE SOUGHT BY THE SOVIETS, WHO ARE UNHAPPY THAT THE WEST HAS SEIZED THE INITIATIVE THROUGH ITS SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLICY.

4. AT THIS STAGE OF U.S. THINKING ABOUT A STRATEGY FOR THE SC, WE WOULD VALUE THE THOUGHTS OF THE OTHER WESTERN PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL AS TO TACTICS WE MIGHT PURSUE, RECOGNIZING THE NEED TO CONSULT CLOSELY BOTH IN NEW YORK AND IN CAPITALS AS THE SITUATION DEVELOPS.

5. BECAUSE OF SENSITIVITY OF THIS ISSUE AND THE NEED TO AVOID PUBLICITY UNTIL OUR DEMARCHES TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS PERMIT US TO DRAW A CONCLUSION AS TO WHAT THEIR RESPONSE WILL BE, CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE CLOSELY HELD. PRIMARY FOCUS OF DISCUSSION SHOULD BE IN NEW YORK AT PERMREP OR DEPUTY PERMREP LEVEL, IN CAPITALS EMBASSIES MAY DISCUSS SC CONTINGENCY AS APPROPRIATE IN COURSE OF OTHER DISCUSSIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR

PROGRAM.

6. QUESTIONS TO BE RAISED SHOULD INCLUDE POSSIBILITY
OF DEFERRING SC ACTION AND POSSIBILITY OF AVOIDING A
CHAPTER VII DETERMINATION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AT THIS
STAGE. PLEASE REPORT RESPONSES ASAP. VANCE

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APPROVED BY: S/S-O JTHYDEN

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 197411

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FOLLOWING REPEAT SECSTATE 197411 ACTION USUN INFO BONN LONDON
PARIS PRETORIA AUGUST 19.

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 197411

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LONDON ALSO FOR MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

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